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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 COPENHAGEN 0562

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SUBJ: CONFIDENTIAL DANISH REPORT ON CAMBODIA - MORTENSEN'S
GENERAL IMPRESSIONS OF CAMBODIA TODAY

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE THIRD REPORT OF DANISH AMBASSADOR MORTENSEN TO THE DANISH FOREIGN OFFICE ON HIS RECENT TRIP TO CAMBODIA. THE REPORT DATED JANUARY 21, AND TRANSLATED BY THE EMB, PRESENTS MORTENSEN'S GENERAL IMPRESSIONS OF THE COUNTRY, TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS AND AGRICULTURE ALMOST THREE YEARS AFTER THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT TOOK POWER.

2. BEGIN TRANSLATION: THIS REPORT IS AN ATTEMPT TO DESCRIBE SOME OF THE EFFECTS OF

A REVOLUTION WHICH PROBABLY IS THE MOST RADICAL IN HISTORY - THE TAKEOVER BY THE RED KHMERS. IT IS BASED ON CONVERSATIONS WITH RESPONSIBLE AUTHORITIES ON THE SCENE, COMBINED WITH MY OWN OBSERVATIONS, WHICH WERE DISCUSSED DAILY WITH THE AMBASSADORS OF FINLAND AND SWEDEN, WHO ALSO PARTICIPATED IN THE TRIP. THE TRIP WAS ARRANGED ON THE INITIATIVE OF THE AUTHORITIES OF KAMPUCHEA.

3. ON APRIL 17, 1975 THE CAPITAL OF CAMBODIA, PHOM-PENH, WAS TAKEN BY THE RED KHMERS. THE DATE BECAME A WATERSHED IN THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY, IN THAT IT LED TO A TURNOVER OF SOCIETY, MORE RADICAL THAN ANY OTHER REVOLUTION. APART FROM REPORTS FROM REFUGEES ON
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THE CIRCUMSTANCES CONNECTED WITH THE FALL OF PHNOM-PENH VERY LITTLE IS KNOWN ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW STATE, WHICH WAS DUBBED DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA.

4. THE REASON FOR THIS IS THE SELF-IMPOSED ISOLATION WHICH IS THE MOST STRIKING CHARACTERISTIC OF THE NEW REGIME. AS WILL BE RECALLED, THE TOTAL CITY POPULATION OF NEARLY 3 MILLION PEOPLE WAS HASTILY EVACUATED AFTER THE TAKEOVER, AND PHNOM-PENH CAN

TODAY RIGHTFULLY BE CHARACTERIZED AS A GHOST CITY. THERE IS A VERY MODEST ADMINISTRATION, A FEW SMALL INDUSTRIES AND PUBLIC WORKS (WATER AND ELECTRICITY, WITH THE NECESSARY PERSONNEL, CERTAIN MILITARY UNITS AND EIGHT FOREIGN EMBASSIES. THE POPULATION TODAY, ACCORDING TO KAMPUCHEAN AUTHORITIES, NUMBERS 20,000, I.E. A REDUCTION OF MORE THAN 99 PERCENT COMPARED TO 1975. THE CITIZENS ARE QUITE YOUNG PEOPLE AND CHILDREN MOVED IN FROM FORMER RURAL DISTRICTS. THE ORIGINAL POPULATION IS GONE - EITHER MOVED TO THE RURAL DISTRICTS OR DEAD FROM EXHAUSTION AFTER THE RAPID EVACUATION, THE MOVE TO A QUITE NEW ENVIRONMENT, AND LAST BUT PERHAPS NOT LEAST, AS A RESULT OF THE NEW REGIME'S SHOWDOWN WITH THE LON NOL SUPPORTERS. DURING MY TWO-WEEK VISIT TO KAMPUCHEA I COULD NOT, OF COURSE, FORM AN IMPRESSION OF THE DRAMATIC EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE IN PHNOM-PENH NEARLY THREE YEARS AGO. THE KAMPUCHEAN GOVERNMENT VERSION IS THE SUBJECT OF A SEPARATE REPORT. HOWEVER, EVEN TODAY THE CITY IS MARKED BY THE UNRESTRAINED STORMING OF ALL DWELLINGS AND THE DESTRUCTION OF FOREIGN PROPERTY, INCLUDING COMMUNIST PROPERTY, AS FOR EXAMPLE THE OFFICES OF THE CZECH AIRLINES. ON THE OTHER HAND THERE IS NO OUTWARD SIGN OF LOOTING AND A CONSIDERABLE QUANTITY OF VALUABLE THINGS IS STORED TOGETHER HELTER-SKELTER ON THE GROUND FLOORS OF APARTMENT BUILDINGS. CONSIDERABLE UNTOUCHED STORES OF GOODS, INCLUDING EVEN EXPENSIVE, APPARENTLY OPERATIONAL AUTOMOBILES STAND IN GARAGES.

5. NOR HAS THE NEW POPULATION MOVED INTO THE BESTHOUSES; ON THE CONTRARY. APPARENTLY THE CITY'S CONQUERORS WERE POSSESSED BY SUCH HATRED OF THE STRONGHOLD OF THE LON NOL REGIME THAT THEY
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WANTED TO DESTROY THE CAPITAL - PERHAPS FOREVER. LESS THAN THREE YEARS AFTER THIS EVENT, EVERYTHING IS IN A STATE OF NEGLECT, HOUSES CRUMBLE, STREETS ARE OVERGROWN WITH WEEDS ETC. IS THE COUNTRY ONCE AGAIN TO SEE ITS CAPITAL VANISH INTO OBLIVION WITH ONLY THE RUINS OF SOME OF THE MONUMENTAL BUILDINGS TO REMAIN AS PROOF OF A PAST METROPOLIS IN THE SAME WAY AS ANGKOR WAT TODAY REMINDS US OF AN EARLIER PHASE IN THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY? NO UNEQUIVOCAL ANSWER CAN YET BE GIVEN, BECAUSE TIME AFTER TIME ONE IS CONFRONTED WITH APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS. WHILE HOUSING DISTRICTS ARE ALLOWED TO FALL INTO DISREPAIR, PUBLIC PARKS ARE TENDED, AND PAGODAS ARE WELL TAKEN CARE OF, EVEN IF NO ONE USES THEM FOR RELIGIOUS PURPOSES AND THE PRIESTHOOD HAS DISAPPEARED. SCHOOLS OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND ORDINARY SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED, AND YOUNG PEOPLE WHO MIGHT HAVE ATTENDED THESE EDUCATIONAL CENTERS, NOW PATROL THE STREETS CARRYING AUTOMATIC WEAPONS ALMOST AS LARGE AS THEMSELVES.

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6. IN ITSELF, MOVING 3 MILLION PEOPLE OUT OF A TOTAL POPULATION OF 8 MILLION IN THE COURSE OF A WEEK, AND RETRAINING THE EVACUEES IN NEW OR PARTLY FORGOTTEN OCCUPATIONS, IS A TREMENDOUS UPHEAVAL. BUT ALSO IN MANY OTHER RESPECTS THE CHANGES IN EVERYDAY LIFE ARE STRIKING. THE ABOLITION OF CONCEPTS AND INSTITUTIONS WHICH EXIST IN OTHER KNOWN SOCIAL SYSTEMS IS THOUGHT-PROVOKING. FOR EXAMPLE, IN KAMPUCHEA TODAY ONE ASKS IN VAIN FOR: MONEY AND, IN THAT CONNECTION, STORES; NEWSPAPERS; PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION SUCH AS RAILROADS AND BUSES; AND, MAIL AND TELEGRAPHIC SERVICES. THUS THEY HAVE PREVENTED ANY FORM OF COMMUNICATION AMONG THE CITIZENS OF THE COUNTRY. ALL NEWS DISSEMINATION TAKES PLACE VIA RADIO AND GOVERNMENT ORDERS ARE BROADCAST OVER THE MILITARY COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK. THE ABOLITION OF THE MONETARY SYSTEM IS ESPECIALLY INTERESTING AND IN A CONVERSATION WITH DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER IENG SARY MORE DETAILED INFORMATION WAS REQUESTED ON HOW IT WAS POSSIBLE TO MAKE THE ECONOMIC LIFE FUNCTION WITHOUT MONEY OR MONEY SUBSTITUTES. BEFORE COMMUNICATING IENG SARY'S ANSWER, IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE NUCLEUS OF THE SOCIETY IS THE COLLECTIVE, WHICH ORDINARILY INCLUDES 5-600 FAMILIES, EACH CONSISTING ON THE AVERAGE OF FIVE MEMBERS OR A TOTAL NUMBER APPROXIMATING THAT OF A WORK BRIGADE IN A CHINESE RURAL COMMUNE. ACCORDING TO THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER DAILY LIFE IS BASED ON BASIC RATIONS OF RICE, CLOTHES, SALT AND SEED GRAIN. THE ANNUAL RICE RATION PER CAPITA TOTALS 312 KILOS, WHICH SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT AND WHICH SUBSTANTIALLY EXCEEDS

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THE RICE RATION OF NEIGHBORING VIETNAM WHERE THE RATION IS 15-25 KILOS PER MONTH, DEPENDING ON PHYSICAL EFFORT. IF A COLLECTIVE PRODUCES MORE THAN IT IS ENTITLED TO AN BASIC RATIONS, IT "SELLS" THE SURPLUS TO THE STATE. IF THE SURPLUS GOES TO ANOTHER COLLECTIVE UNABLE TO COVER ITS OWN NEEDS, NO SETTLEMENT IS MADE. BUT IF IT IS EXPORTED, THE COLLECTIVE IS GIVEN A GOOKEEPING CREDIT FOR THE

EXPORT PRICE WHICH, FOR INSTANCE, COULD BE USED TO "PURCHASE" A TRACTOR FROM THE STATE. CERTAIN PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, HOWEVER, HAVE EASIER ACCESS TO NON-RATIONED GOODS, SUCH AS FISH AND FRUIT, THEREBY CAUSING INEQUALITIES IN THE SUPPLY SITUATION, AND IT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE, THEREFORE, THAT THE MONETARY SYSTEM WILL BE RE-INTRODUCED AFTER SOME TIME.

7. IF COMMUNICATIONS WITHIN THE COUNTRY ARE IN REALITY SEVERED, THE SITUATION VIS-A-VIS THE OUTSIDE WORLD IS NOT MUCH BETTER. A RADIO LINKUP WITH PEKING IS THE ONLY ROUTE FOR TELECOMMUNICATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES. SINCE THE BREAK IN RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM, THERE ARE ONLY A BIMONTHLY AIR CONNECTION TO PEKING AND A MONTHLY FLIGHT TO VIENTIANE. RAILWAY AND ROAD TRAFFIC WITH THAILAND HAS BEEN INTERRUPTED AND, SIMILARLY, TRAFFIC OUT OF THE COUNTRY ON THE MEKONG RIVER HAS BEEN DISCONTINUED BECAUSE OF THE FIGHTING WITH VIETNAM. MORE-OVER, FROM THE AIR IT COULD BE SEEN THAT INTERNAL RIVER TRAFFIC ON THE MEKONG HAD ALSO BEEN DISCONTINUED-POSSIBLY BECAUSE OF THE FIGHTING.

8. CONTACT WITH OTHER COUNTRIES IS, THUS, MINIMAL. TODAY KAMPUCHEA HAS DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION ONLY IN CHINA, NORTH KOREA AND LAOS. IN PHNOM-PENH THERE ARE CHINESE, NORTH KOREAN, ALBANIA, EGYPTIAN YUGOSLAVIAN LAOTIAN, ROMANIAN AND CUBAN EMBASSIES. MOST OF THEM HAVE VERY SMALL STAFFS, AND IN THE CASE OF CUBA THERE ARE SIGNS THAT IT MAY BE CLOSING UP. THE FORMER AMB LEFT ABOUT SIX MONTHS AGO, AND NO SUCCESSOR HAS BEEN NAMED. THE AMBASSADORS ARE RESIDENT IN PEKING OF HANOI, NANELY, DENMARK, SWEDEN, FINLAND, SENEGAL, PAKIS-CONFIDENTIAL

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TAN, MALI, TANZANIA, SOUTH YEMEN, BURMA AND IRAQ.

9. THE LACK OF CONTACT WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD IS REFLECTED ALSO IN KAMPUCHEA'S FOREIGN TRADE, WHOSE LIMITED SIZE IS NOT KNOWN. AN EXCHANGE OF GOODS TAKES PLACE ONLY WITH CHINA, NORTH KOREA AND YUGOSLAVIA, BUT SOME EXPORT OF WOOD AND RUBBER TO JAPAN MAY TAKE PLACE IN THE COURSE OF THE YEAR. FINALLY, THERE ARE MODEST IMPORTS OF PHARMACEUTICAL GOODS FROM HONG KONG. ALBANIA SENT AN ECONOMIC DELEGATION TO PHNOM PENH BUT WITHOUT RESULT.

10. AS SAID BEFORE, THE ISOLATION IS SELF-IMPOSED. THE MAJOR POLICY OF THE NEW REGIME IS SELF-SUFFICIENCY BASED ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION. AS FAR AS CAN BE JUDGED, AND IN THIS RESPECT THE LIMITATIONS ON OPPORTUNITY AND FREEDOM TO MOVE AROUND SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION, EXISTING AND PROBABLY INTACT FOREIGN INDUSTRIAL PLANTS ARE UTILIZED VERY LITTLE. INSTEAD, PRIMITIVE SMALL ENTERPRISES HAVE BEEN SET UP TO SUPPORT AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION. DURING A TRIP TO THE PROVINCES NORTH OF THE CAPITAL - KOMPONG CHAM, KOMPONG THOM AND SIEM REAP - IT WAS OBSERVED THAT CONSIDERABLE IRRIGATION HAD BEEN INTRODUCED RECENTLY, MAKING A DOUBLE RICE HARVEST POSSIBLE.

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11. THE MAIN IMPRESSION IS THAT THERE ARE, UNDOUBTEDLY, GOOD CHANCES FOR DEVELOPING KAMPUCHEA INTO A NEW AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY. AT THE SAME TIME IT MUST BE RECOGNIZED THAT SUPPORT FACILITIES ARE ENORMOUSLY LIMITED. ON THE 300 KM. TRIP DURING THE HEIGHT OF THE RICE HARVEST, ONLY TWO TRACTORS WERE OBSERVED IN OPERATION.

12. THE REVOLUTION IN KAMPUCHEA HAS BEEN VIOLENT, BUT IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, IT WAS THE CITY POPULATION WHICH SUFFERED, AND THEY ACCOUNTED FOR ABOUT 40 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION AT THE TIME OF THE TAKEOVER. THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE FARM POPULATION ARE SCARCELY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE IN OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AT THE LOWER END OF THE SCALE. HOUSING CONDITIONS ARE POOR, EVEN IN COMPARISON WITH THAILAND WHICH HAS ABOUT THE SAME CLIMATE. ON THE FACE OF IT, HEALTH CONDITIONS SEEM GOOD AND ANIMALS ARE IN GOOD CONDITION. IT ALSO SEEMS POSSIBLE TO ESTABLISH A GREATER SCOPE FOR LEADING ONE'S INDIVIDUAL LIFE THAN THE SYSTEM IN FACT FORESEES. THE COLLECTIVE AS THE BASIC ECONOMIC UNIT WITH COMMON MEALS IS NOT EASY TO MAINTAIN, IF, FOR EXAMPLE, A PERSON HAS BEEN LUCKY ENOUGH TO CATCH A FISH ON HIS OWN LINE OR A COCONUT HAS FALLEN AT THE ENTRANCE OF HIS HOUSE. IN THE EVENING MANY PRIVATE COOKING FIRES COULD BE SEEN.

13. DURING THE TRIP IN THE DISTRICTS NORTH OF PHNOM PENH THERE WAS AMPLE OPPORTUNITY TO OBSERVE THE ENORMOUS DESTRUCTION CAUSED BY
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THE WAR. ON THE STRETCH FROM PHNOM PENH TO KOMPONG THOM (ABOUT 160 KILOMETERS) ALL BRICK HOUSES AND BRIDGES (AND THERE WERE MANY) WERE SIMPLY DESTROYED BY AIR BOMBARDMENT AND THE TOWN OF SKOUN, WHICH HAD A POPULATION OF ABOUT 10,000, WAS COMPLETELY FLATTENED. NORTH OF KOMPONG THOM THE DAMAGE WAS LESS, BUT NEVERTHELESS SHOCKING. ONLY THE PAGODAS STAND UNTOUCHED BY THE WAR. THE WHOLE OF HIGHWAY 6, WHICH IS ONE OF THE LIFE ARTERIES IN KAMPUCHEA'S INTERNAL TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM, HAS BEEN DESTROYED THROUGH HARD USE BY TANKS AND BY BOMBING. THE BEST ILLUSTRATION OF THIS, PROBABLY, IS THAT IT TOOK 12 HOURS TO COVER THE 300 KILOMETERS FROM PHNOM PENH TO SIEM REAP. PERSONALLY, I HAVE NEVER BEFORE SEEN SUCH TOTAL DESTRUCTION FROM WAR, AND THE BASIS FOR MY COMPARISON IS ADEQUATE. WAR DAMAGE IN VIETNAM, FOR INSTANCE, IS NOT NEARLY AS EXTENSIVE, PERHAPS WITH THE EXCEPTION OF WHERE CHEMICAL WEAPONS WERE USED (DESTROYING THE FOLIAGE). IT IS A STRANGE PARADOX THAT TODAY ONLY THE LARGE CITIES AND TOWNS ARE BY AND LARGE UNTOUCHED BY THE WAR, AND ALMOST NOBODY LIVES IN THEM ANY MORE. THIS APPLIES NOT ONLY TO PHNOM PENH, BUT ALSO TO THE PROVINCIAL CAPITALS VISITED. THE VILLAGES AND SMALLER PROVINCIAL TOWNS WHICH THE RED KHMER OCCUPIED DURING THE WAR FROM 1970-75 WERE DESTROYED BY AMERICAN BOMBING.

14. IT SEEMS AS IF THE WAR IN CAMBODIA DID NOT HAVE THE SAME INTEREST FOR WORLD OPINION AS THE VIETNAM WAR DID. ACCORDING TO THE KAMPUCHEAN AUTHORITIES 800,000 PEOPLE WERE KILLED IN THE WAR, OR ABOUT 10 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION, AND MORE THAN 240,000 WERE DISABLED. 15. THESE FACTS SHOULD BE REMEMBERED WHEN SEEKING AN EXPLANATION FOR THE TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE FINAL SHOWDOWN. ONE OUGHT, FURTHER, TO KEEP IN MIND THE QUITE UNJUST DIFFERENCES IN LIVING CONDITIONS WHICH EXISTED BETWEEN THE CITY AND THE FARM POPULATION. PHNOM PENH WAS A CITY CONSISTING OF A LARGE RESIDENTIAL AREA WITH HOUSES THAT WOULD DUMBFOUND ONE-FAMILY HOME OWNERS IN COPENHAGEN'S SUBURBS, WHILE THE FARM POPULATION WAS AND STILL IS

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HOUSED IN COTTAGES WITH THATCHED ROOFS WITHOUT ELECTRICITY AND WITH WATER SUPPLIED ONLY BY NEARBY PONDS OR RIVERS. THUS, ALL THE CONDITIONS FOR A SOCIAL CONFLICT OF UNEXPECTED DIMENSIONS WERE PRESENT. THIS COMBINED WITH THE WAR ACTIVITY UNDOUBTEDLY BROUGHT ABOUT SUCH A DEGRADATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL'S WORTH, THAT ANYTHING, INCLUDING EVEN THE MOST REPREHENSIBLE ACTS, BECAME POSSIBLE. NOW AND THEN, WHEN JUDGING THE ACTIONS OF OTHER PEOPLES, WE MAY BE INCLINED TO OVERLOOK THE BRUTALITY THAT CHARACTERIZED SOME EUROPEAN NATIONS' BEHAVIOR 30-40 YEARS AGO.

16. THE VISIT TO KAMPUCHEA LEAVES THE IMPRESSION THAT THE AUTHORITIES ARE AWARE OF THE UNFAVORABLE REACTION WHICH EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE TAKING OF POWER IN 1975 PRODUCED IN WORLD OPINION, AND THAT IN THE CONFLICT WITH VIETNAM THEY BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT TO CREATE

A BETTER REPUTATION IN THE WORLD. IN VIEW OF THE GOVERNMENT'S OTHERWISE ISOLATIONIST POLICY, ITS SUDDEN EAGERNESS TO BRING MORE FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES TO THE COUNTRY OUGHT TO BE SEEN AS AN INDICATION OF THIS.

17. THE QUESTION IS, HOWEVER, TO WHAT EXTENT DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENTS IN KAMPUCHEA WILL INFLUENCE FOREIGN ASSESSMENTS OF THE CONFLICT WITH VIETNAM. KAMPUCHEA'S OWN PERCEPTION OF THIS CONFLICT HAS BEEN DISCUSSED IN AN EARLIER REPORT, AND ONCE I HAVE HAD ACCESS TO MORE OBJECTIVE INFORMATION THAN IS AVAILABLE HERE, I HOPE TO BE ABLE TO PRESENT A MORE UNBIASED PICTURE OF A SITUATION WHICH POSSIBLY MAY BE DECISIVE FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL BALANCE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.
END TRANSLATION.
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